1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Islanders in 1856, saw several European boats in possession of natives. He thinks that few canoes were made on the island. One of my informants, a woman of good judgment, told me that while fishing her grandfather was carried by a storm to Salas y Gomez reef, 200 miles from Easter Island. On his return he had a boat tattooed on his cheek to commemorate his adventure. If this voyage was actually made, it was certainly on a whaleboat.

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time the natives insisted that he build a boat for them. The missionary was reluctant, for he doubted that the wood supply was sufficient for that. The natives, who were not disheartened, shouted, "We have more wood than we need," and they collected every available scrap. With their help, Eyraud built a boat, which proved wholly inadequate when launched. When an Easter Islander, who had been absent for a few years, returned, chiefs with their retainers seized the boat on which he was coming ashore and fought for its possession until the boat was destroyed (230, vol. 6, p. 121).

These incidents express strikingly a deep-rooted love of navigation, despite the handicaps of nature.

Comparison with Other Polynesian Canoes

The Polynesians who colonized Easter Island must have traveled in double canoes. This is substantiated by the tradition that Hotu-matua and his followers arrived in two boats lashed together. The expression "a piece of wood," that Hornell (109, p. 103) interprets as referring to a raft, is an erroneous translation of the word *oraora*, the name of the craft on which traveled the six scouts sent by Hotu-matua (p. 56).

Easter Island canoes, though poor, retained traits which connect them with boats of other more favored parts of Polynesia. The typical raised ends of Easter Island canoes are characteristic of those in the Tuamotus (old model of a canoe), the Marquesas, New Zealand, Hawaii, and Mangareva. The upturned ends of Easter Island canoes (fig. 18, *a*) had a spatulate form which might be compared with the curved terminal of Hawaiian canoes, though these are much lower.

Evidence that double-outrigger canoes existed on Easter Island is exceedingly weak, resting solely on Choris' drawing. However, it has been accepted by Dixon (60, p. 76) who considers the supposed Easter Island double outrigger to be a sign of former, wider distribution of this type in Polynesia. As other proofs of the presence of double outriggers in Polynesia, Dixon refers to New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Samoa about which he is dubious. Hornell (109, pp. 31, 198) discards, with convincing arguments, the former existence of the double outrigger in New Zealand and in the Marquesas. A loose use of words is responsible for the statement that double outriggers exist in Samoa (109, p. 239). If the double-outrigger canoe was

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Native informants reconstructed an arm pattern for Routledge (194, p. 219) consisting of a continuous series of solid triangular designs terminating in unfilled ovals. 304

Stolpe shows a forearm covered with anthropomorphic designs (fig. 35, *a*) and a hand of solid color except for two untattooed strips (*piriu kona*) at the wrist (fig. 35, *d*).

These patterns of the hand were called *tuaha·ingoingo* by my informant and are listed in Roussel's vocabulary as "back tattooing."

Thigh Designs

Viriamo's thighs are covered with such fine stripes that at a distance they appear uniformly blue. Beechey (15, pp. 52-53) supposes that this tattooing was "in imitation of blue breeches; copied no doubt from some of their visitors, who frequently tuck up their trousers to the knee in passing through water." Thomson (215, p. 467) compares this tattooing of the thighs with "silk tights with variegated patterns" (fig. 36). This pattern was carefully drawn on the top part of the thighs of the tapa images (figs. 30, *c*; 34, *c*). The back part might be decorated by a conventionalized representation of a branch with leaves (fig. 36, *b*).

The thighs of the Easter Islander depicted by Choris are crossed by slanting solid bands. An Easter Island woman painted by Du Petit-Thouars' artist (65, pl. 44), has the inner side of the thighs tattooed in a continuous blue surface which gives the effect of a leather crotch on riding breeches. Loti shows the tattooing of the thigh divided into regions. The upper part of the thigh has an alternate series of angles, some of them with curved or undulating outline; the second region is separated from the first by a horizontal band (fig. 33, *b*). The lower part of the thigh is covered by fine perpendicular lines ending at another band above the knee. One Peabody Museum tapa image (fig. 31, *a*) has on the lower part of the thigh, above the knee, motifs that can be defined as chevrons and triangles.

Leg Designs

Choris shows men with slanting stripes on the legs similar to those on the thighs, but terminating at perpendicular parallel lines along the tibia. The tattooing of the leg (*humu*), as indicated on the Belfast image (fig. 34, *e*), shows a series of long triangles within triangles, ending in a serrated border. The analogy of this motif with that shown in figure 33, *b*, is very striking. On the other hand, little analogy exists between this pattern and the sign of the tablets called *humu i te vae* (tattooing of the legs). According to Thomson (fig. 36) the tattooing of the legs might have consisted of filled perpendicular bands, separated by stripes of natural color. Pinart (178, p. 239) mentions circular tattooing round the ankles.

Realistic Motifs

An outstanding feature of Easter Island tattooing is the number of realistic motifs used. Dance paddles, obsidian spear heads, plant branches, and human figures were parts of the ordinary pattern of any complete tattooing. Other subjects were represented according to the fancy of the individual. The Easter Islander met by Stolpe in Tahiti had a forearm tattooing which "made him a living chronicle of Easter Island" (fig. 35, *a*). The bearer of these designs explained them as a representation of the dragging to the landing place of the big image at the British Museum. The ten figures on the longitudinal line represent English sailors; the tall figure with a stick, the first officer; and the other figures the second officers. The little human image by the transverse statue above the elbow is a dancing chief. 304 532

It was probably customary to represent in tattooing some important incident in which the tattooed person had participated. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me that her grandfather who was taken by storm near the reef Salas y Gomez, had a canoe tattooed on his face when he returned. [211]

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
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*172 No. 32.

Condition :—roof and sides falling in.

Passage :—6′ 1″, outer end 1′ 7″ × 1′ 7″, inner end 1′ 10″ × 1′ 10″, with sill still *in situ*, which is placed inside the chamber abutting against the uprights, its two ends do not fit between the uprights. Wall consists in its lower half of panels, in its upper half of slabs.

Chamber :—21′ 8″ × 5′ 3″ × 4′ 9″, width of east end 3′ 9″, of west end 4′ 11″. The panels have in this case not been built into the wall but are placed against it. They are of large size, one of the biggest is 4′ 1″ square ; another 3′ 10″ × 3′ 5″.

A break occurs in the line of houses between Nos. 32 and 35 ; Nos. 33 and 34 stand apart under one covering, and slightly to the rear, further from the cliff edge than their neighbours.

The notches on the inner door-post of No. 33 are of interest.

No. 33. (Plate XI, Fig. 2.)

Condition :—good.

Passage :—6′ 6″, outer end 1′ 8″ × 1′ 7″, inner end 2′ 2″ × 2′ 1″, with sill ; wall entirely of panels, slabs only being used to bring them to the level ; floor partly paved.

Chamber :—19′ 4″ × 7′ 2″ × 5′ 8″. West end oval, east end flattened to permit of gap between upper portion of panels as communication with No. 34. Panels opposite door horizontal not vertical, one 4′ 9″ with a height of only 1′ 11″ ; remainder of panels generally low, the wall being principally composed of slabs.

Decoration :—at inner end of passage the west door-post shows on each side a number of rough notches On one side of the post they form a continuous series, numbering fifty-five ; on the other side they are in two series with a break between them, the upper series numbers seven notches, the lower series thirteen. Each notch was said to represent a day spent in the house by the recorders. [211]

Traces of paint on ceiling.

Small pit in front of entrance, 1′ 2″ × 1′ 0″ ; depth uncertain.

No. 34.

Condition :—roof of passage fallen down slightly, making it too low to enter. Otherwise in good condition. It can be seen into from No. 33.

Decoration :—traces of painting on two slabs opposite the door.

Nos. 35 to 39 finish the houses of Orongo proper, or those to the west of the carved rocks. No. 39, which has unique recesses on each side the entrance, abuts on the carved rocks.

No. 35.

Condition :—roof broken in at north end ; passage partly closed.

Passage :—indeterminate.

Chamber :—22′ 2″ × 6′ 7″ × 5′ 5″. East end oval ; west end flat with north corner rectangular, and south corner slightly rounded. Right of door a small recess in wall 2′ 0″ in length and 1′ 0″ in height.

Decoration :—some drawings on roof ; the subjects could not be determined.

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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another carving, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalized by having one of these representations cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know therefore that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand, palm upwards, on a piece of tappa and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the southern coast. This procedure, which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg, was continued till the party reached Rano Raraku, the mountain especially connected with the images. This mountain is at the south-east end of the island, some ten miles distant from Rano Kao; it resembles the latter in being an extinct volcano with a crater lake, but stands back a mile from the coast and is only about 500 feet in height; its shape is that of a shallow vessel of which the base is larger than the brim.[2] On the south side of the mountain, towards the summit, are extensive workings in which lie scores of images in every stage of evolution. These quarries are both within the crater and outside, and below them, on the debris and detritus, a large number of the figures have been set up. Amongst the statues thus placed on the exterior slope, most of which are still standing, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house. This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and in this house the bird-man remained

[1] This figure with that of the bird-man and the ao are all roughly carved on the back of the statue at the British Museum. They appear to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle to which allusion is made below. Unfortunately, the light in the portico is bad.

[2] The word "Rano" signifies a crater lake. It is, according to Turner, Malagasy for water, but is only used in Easter Island in the restricted sense.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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on his death to Maurata. When Maurata went to Peru, Také, a relative of Te Haha, obtained them, and Salmon asked Te Haha to get hold of them for him. Také, however, unfortunately owed Te Haha a grudge, because when Te Haha was in Salmon's service, and consequently well off, he did not give him as many presents as his relative thought should have been forthcoming, and he consequently refused to surrender them. They were hidden in a cave whose general locality was surmised, but Také died without making known the exact site, and they could never be found. Kaimokoi's tablets were burnt in war.

The question remains what were the subjects with which the tablets dealt, and in what manner did they record them? Various attempts have been made to deal with a problem which will probably never be wholly solved. Twice before our own day native assistance has been sought to decipher them. It will be remembered that the existence of these glyphs was first reported by the missionaries; but even at that time, when volunteers were asked for who could translate them, none came forward, Bishop Jaussen, Vicaire Apostolique of Tahiti, managed to find in that island a native of Easter among those brought there to work on the Brander plantations, who was supposed to understand them, and who read them after the boustrophedon method. From the information given by him, the Bishop was satisfied that the signs represented different things, such as sun, stars, the ariki, and so forth, and has given a list of the figures and their equivalent. At the same time he held that each one was only a peg on which to hang much longer matter which was committed to memory. The other attempt to obtain a translation was that of Paymaster Thomson, of U.S.S. *Mohican*, in 1886. There was then living an old man, Ure-vae-iko by name, who was said to be the last to understand the form of writing; he declined to assist in deciphering them on the ground that his religious teachers had said it would imperil his soul. Photographs, however, were shown, and, by the aid of stimulants, he was induced to give a version of their meaning, the words of which were taken down by Salmon. It was, however, remarked that when the photographs were changed, the words proceeded just the same.

Inquiries were made by the Expedition about this old man, and it was agreed by the islanders that he had never possessed

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question left unasked, any possible way of getting at the information; but most of what the old man knew he had forgotten, and what he dimly remembered he was incapable of explaining. I made one more futile effort, then bade him good-bye and turned away. It was late afternoon on a day of unusual calm, everything in the lonely spot was perfectly still, the sea lay below like a sheet of glass, the sun as a globe of fire was nearing the horizon, while close at hand lay the old man gradually sinking, and carrying in his tired brain the last remnants of a once-prized knowledge. In a fortnight he was dead.

No detailed systematic study of the tablets has as yet been possible from the point of view of the Expedition, but it seems at present probable that the system was one of memory, and that the signs were simply aids to recollection, or for keeping count like the beads of a rosary. To what extent the figures were used at will, or how far each was associated with a definite idea it is impossible to say. Possibly there was no unvarying method; certain ones may conveniently have been kept for an ever-recurrent factor, as the host in the tau, and in well-known documents, such as "he timo te ako-ako," they would doubtless be reproduced in orthodox succession. But in the tablets which we possess the same figures are continually repeated, and the fact that equivalents were always having to be found for new names, as in that of the fish-man, or ika, suggest that they may have been largely selected by the expert haphazard from a known number. As Tomenika said, "the words were new, but the letters were old," or to quote Kapiera to the same effect, they were "the same picture, but other words." It will be noted how few men are reported to have known each variety of rongo-rongo, and that while Ngaara looked at the tablets of the boys, apparently to see if they were properly cut, it was in the recitation only of the older men that accuracy was insisted on. The names which Bishop Jaussen's informant assigned to some five hundred figures may or may not be accurate, but whether the native or anyone else could have stated what the signs conveyed is another matter. It is easy to give the term for a knot in a pocket-handkerchief, but no one save the owner can say whether he wishes to remember to pay his life insurance or the date of a tea-party.

In trying to enter into the state of society and of mind which

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evolved the tablets there are two points worth noticing. Firstly, the Islanders are distinctly clever with their hands and fond of representing forms. Setting aside the large images, the carving of the small wooden ones is very good, and the accuracy of the tablet designs is wonderful. Then they have real enjoyment in reciting categories of words; for example, in recounting folk-tales, opportunity was always gleefully taken of any mention of feasting to go through the whole of the food products of the island. In the same way, if a hero went from one locality to another, the name of every place *en route* would be rolled out without any further object than the mere pleasure of giving a string of names. This form of recitation appears to affect them æsthetically, and the mere continuation of sound to be a pleasure. Given, therefore, that it was desired to remember lists of words, whether categories of names or correct forms of prayer, the repetition would be a labour of love, and to draw figures as aids to recollection would be very natural.

Nevertheless, the signs themselves have no doubt a history, which as such, even apart from interpretation, may prove to be signposts in our search for the origin of this mysterious people.

The Bird Cult

Knowledge of the tablets was confined to a few, and formed a comparatively small element of life in the island; the whole of social existence revolved round the bird cult, and it was the last of the old order to pass away. The main object of the cult was to obtain the first egg of a certain migratory sea-bird, and the rites were connected with the western headland, Rano Kao. Little has yet been said of this volcano, but, from the scenic point of view, it is the most striking portion of the island. Its height is 1,300 feet, and it possesses a crater two-thirds of a mile across, at the bottom of which is a lake largely covered with weeds and plant-life. On the eastward, or landward face, the mountain, as already explained, slopes downward with a smooth and grassy incline, and the other three sides have been worn by the waves into cliffs over 1,000 feet in height. On the outermost side the sea has nearly forced its way into the crater itself; and the ocean is now divided from the lake at this point by only a narrow edge, along which it would be possible but